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ARTICLES
ON
POLITICAL PARTIES,
AND THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER,
IN THE STATE,

BY EDWARD MCCRADY, JR.,

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE STATE.

No. I.

At the last caucus of the Democratic members of the Legislature, which has just adjourned, the following resolutions were, we are told, unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Democratic members of the General Assembly, in caucus, that no Democrat having the interest of the State at heart should unite with Republicans on an independent ticket, and that the caucus through its president do recommend to the Democratic caucus of the next Legislature that all such Representatives elected as Independents be not allowed admittance into the Democratic caucus of the next General Assembly."

This resolution, which was probably passed with but little consideration, is clearly designed to forestall public opinion in advance of the meeting of the Democratic Convention. Having always belonged to that party which still calls itself "Democratic," we do not admit the right of the members of the Legislature, on the eve of its dissolution, thus to dictate the platform for the next political campaign. We have always been opposed to the "caucus" system for any purposes whatsoever. We believe it to be dangerous in its working and injurious to the rights of the people, as affording a shield and cover to the responsibility of their representatives. Its inevitable result is *secret* legislation, and we trust that there will be no "Democratic caucus in the next Legislature" to allow or deny admittance into its body.

But if legitimate for any purposes, this resolution adopted by it was a usurpation of the functions of another body whose duty and prerogative it is to prescribe the rules for the conduct of the party in the next election—a body which will be composed not of those who were chosen two years since, under other circumstances and for other purposes, and whose term of office is about to expire, but of others yet to be selected from the people for this special purpose, and in view of present exigencies. The Democratic Convention yet to be called is the proper body—if any—to deal with this question, and not a caucus of an expiring Legislature.

We take leave, therefore, to regard the subject of this resolution of the "Caucus" as still an open one, and will make bold to discuss its merits notwithstanding the dicta of that very respectable body.

No time will perhaps be more opportune for the consideration of the subject suggested

by this resolution, viz., the relation of political parties in this State, than the present, when on the one hand the public mind is awake to its merits, and on the other when passions have in some degree cooled, and candidates for office not having been announced, we are less influenced by personal consideration.

In the last two years we have passed through a revolution—a revolution which though, alas! not bloodless, was wonderfully free from violence when it is thought what issues were involved in the struggle. It is not, we think, too much to say that none but such a law-abiding people as ours—nor perhaps any but this generation of our people—could have come through such a struggle without greater loss of life and destruction of property. Two elements of peace fortunately pervaded our society—love of law, and tried courage which needed not an occasion for its exhibition. Reverence of the law, for the sake of the law, was so deeply imbued, that our people obeyed the law though enacted in ignorance and corruption, and bowed down to its sceptre even while in the hands of clowns and knaves. At almost every fireside there sat some veteran who, conscious of his own proved manhood, was determined to forbear much to prevent a conflict, but in which if it came he knew his duty, and none doubted but that he would do it. With patience and courage the crisis was passed, and the state was rescued from the thieves and robbers whom the policy of a party had put in places of honor and power.

But though guided by prudence and controlled by patience, our late struggle was nevertheless a revolution, and while it may be true "that what is done in the moment of revolution is not to be examined too critically by the rules of school philosophy and the morality of the closet," let us recollect that it is yet more certain that no State which would maintain a position in the civilized world can permanently rely on measures which are justified only by its necessities.

A great problem has been forced upon the people of the South—a political problem than which none greater has been solved by human wisdom. We appreciate its magnitude and recognize its difficulties, and yet we have, as wisely as honestly, asked to be allowed to solve it for ourselves. That by our moderation we have secured the right and made for

ourselves the opportunity of doing this, we are convinced that history will accord to us as a great achievement.

But it is only the right to meet the great question, viz: *How can the two races which Providence has placed in this land dwell together in peace, and with equal rights?* which we have secured. The struggle for our right to solve it, we trust, is over. The problem remains. How shall we answer it?

A complete answer this generation may not be able to give. It cannot now be fully discussed. But we must at once grapple with it, and perhaps the best way to commence is to content ourselves to meet only those obvious points which force themselves upon our immediate consideration. Let it be sufficient for us to take that wisest of all steps in political

matters—"the next best step," and may be we shall find, in doing so, another instance of the old truth, that

"Hard things are compass'd oft by easy means."

The subject which first engages our attention, as we contemplate our political condition, is that of parties. Nominally we find the State divided into two great political classes: Democrat and Republican. Whether these names correctly designate the actual division of our people, and whether it is wise to be bound by them, are questions which we shall have the temerity to ask, and the frankness, we trust, fairly to discuss.

In subsequent numbers we shall consider these questions as they relate (1) to National, and (2) to State politics. E. McC., Jr.

No. II.

As intimated in our former number, we propose to consider in this the relations of our people to the two national parties, Democratic and Republican, and to inquire how far we are bound and what we owe to either.

Until but recently there has been so little division of opinion in this State upon national politics, our people have with such great unanimity belonged to the Democratic party, its principles were so interwoven with our doctrine of the relations of the State to the General Government, that notwithstanding this is all now changed, a South Carolinian feels almost as if he were an apostate to his faith as he finds the question constantly recurring to him, *Why am I longer a Democrat?* Still the question does constantly recur, and each time with an increasing demand for some more satisfactory answer than the mere assertion of the right of that party to his allegiance.

Our people were taught that State sovereignty, with all that the term "sovereignty" implies, was the fundamental principle—the life spring of the Democratic party; that States rights implied remedies as well as privileges of sovereignty, indeed we could never understand the existence of a *right* without a commensurate *remedy*. If, then, the State had the right to manage its own affairs in the Union, we supposed it had the remedy of withdrawing from the Union in case this right was interfered with. For many years we thought the right in danger, and at last in 1860, with the assurance of the support of our Northern brethren in the faith, the South attempted the exercise of the remedy. The States seceded.

We had been told that the streets of the Northern cities would run with blood, and Federal troops would march over the lifeless bodies of thousands of Democrats before they could cross bayonets with the Southern seceders. We were not alarmed then when Mr.

Lincoln issued his proclamation for 75,000 men, for we were assured that the Northern Democrats would disperse that body before it reached the Potomac—if indeed it could be formed. Now if the Southern States after seceding had invaded Northern territory, we should have expected every Northern Democrat to have obeyed the call of his State, and to have resisted us to the death. But great was our surprise to learn that in the assembling forces at Washington our Democratic friends of the North were foremost in the field to force us back into the Union. We may have been mistaken, but as plain men we thought we had the concurrence of the Democratic party of the North in the propriety and necessity of exercising the remedy of secession to save the endangered rights of the States. But, however that may be, the Northern Democrats now claim that they rendered service equal to that of the Republicans in establishing the inviolability of the Union. So our people learned that if a State did have rights it by no means followed that there was a remedy for its wrongs. This did not seem consistent with Democratic theory; but in time we learned to accept it.

During the progress of the war, as the Federal forces gained possession more or less permanent, State Governments were established in various parts of the territory of the Confederate States under Federal military authority, and in one instance the General Government at Washington went so far as to divide a State; but this caused our people little uneasiness, knowing as we did that the Constitution guaranteed the inviolability of State territory. We felt assured that when peace was restored this action would be disregarded. But, when the war was indeed over, we found that the sacred soil of Virginia had been forever surrendered, and that, without the consent of the people, Congress had carved out a new State from the Old Dominion. But we thought this, too, was only a war measure, and, the

Union having been restored, that the Democrats would now see to it that the States were no more interfered with.

But then came another shock. The Congress of the United States had declared again and again during the war that it was waged only for the preservation of the Union, and the Confederate armies surrendered, as we understood, on this basis. We expected to see the Governors call the Legislatures together and take such steps as would be necessary to restore the seceded States to the Union from which they had withdrawn, and being withal not unreasonable we expected that the Federal army would not be removed until the United States Government had secured from the seceded States such guarantees as it thought necessary to require before our representatives were readmitted into the houses from which they had retired. Unfortunately President Johnson, Democrat, as he had at least once been, had a "reconstruction" policy of his own—"My policy," as he termed it—the *first reconstruction policy*.

Our people had been told again and again that the war had been waged upon them because a State had no right nor inherent power to withdraw from the Union. Mr. Johnson seems to have recognized the right and the power—the power at least by so doing to commit a political *felo de se*, and to have considered that the Southern States had nearly accomplished the suicidal act. He seems to

have thought that the seceded States required at least a resuscitation, and that in the revival process he would in some instance, as in this State, change somewhat of the organic structure. Whether he did more than galvanize these bodies politic into a few convulsive throes, simulating life, their speedy and complete subversion by Mr. Stevens's "reconstruction" measures, leaves us still in doubt. But sure it is that the Northern Democrats found no fault with *his* "reconstruction."

But, thought Mr. Stevens, if the Southern States are such pliable subjects why should not he, too, try his hand at a "reconstruction" a little more suited to the purposes of the Republican party, with which Mr. Johnson had quarreled? And he did so. He "reconstructed" the Southern States "with a vengeance." Now Mr. Johnson's "reconstruction" measures had all been very well with the Democratic party, but not so this Republican appropriation of Mr. Johnson's device. In 1868 the Democrats in convention declared Mr. Stevens's "reconstruction" measures unconstitutional, revolutionary, null and void, and had they firmly stood upon that platform, and ultimately carried the country with them upon it, then indeed would the Democrats, notwithstanding their previous desertion of the South, have regained its unwavering support.

Whether they did so we shall consider in our next number. E. McC., Jr.

No. III.

In our last number we recalled the fact that the first "Reconstruction" measure emanated from Mr. Johnson, a Democrat, and was not objected to by the Northern Democrats. That it was only the Republican appropriation of Mr. Johnson's advice that roused the anger of the Northern Democracy and caused them to declare such legislation revolutionary, null and void. Still we said, had they firmly stood upon that ground and carried the country with them, and thus saved the Southern States from the years of misrule we have endured, that then, indeed, would we have owed the Democratic party eternal allegiance. In this number we propose to inquire whether they did so.

The nature and extent of Mr. Johnson's "Reconstruction," we said, events had left in doubt, but there was no doubt about the life with which Mr. Stevens had inspired the bodies of the conquered States. There were now no galvanic convulsive contortions; the body of each was really alive. Monstrosities of States they undoubtedly were, but real living beings; if without power for good, yet with fearful power for mischief. Before them the Democratic party quailed, and at Baltimore in 1872 withdrew its protest, and adopting as its own a *Republican platform*, that of the Cincinnati Convention, (1st May, 1872,) acquiesced in the lawfulness of their exist-

ence. Mr. Bayard tried and tried in vain only to be heard against this action of the party. Now this may have been wise, if not courageous. We do not discuss its wisdom as a party measure. But the fact remains that the Democratic party did leave us of the South to our fate with these hideous governments fastened upon us and preying upon our vitals.

But if the Democratic party quailed before these creatures of Republican malignity and greed, and abandoned the Southern States to their fate, the enjoyment of the Republicans in the work of their hands was but brief. The governments called into existence to control the Democratic party soon turned upon their creator. They demanded that the Government, which was in fact, the Republican party, should support them in their infamous deeds, with men and money, and in return they sent to its councils thieves and robbers, ignorance and vice, until at last, for very shame, the party had to disown its own creatures. But that was no easy matter.

There is a curious story of a student of natural science who devoted himself to the search for the elixir of life, and discovered it. He doubted at first whether he should attempt the creation of a being like himself or one of a simpler organization, but borne away at last by his imagination he determined to give life to a creature as complex and wonderful as

man. As, however, minuteness of the parts formed a great hindrance to his work he resolved contrary to his first intention to make his creature of gigantic stature. He did so; and the monster he created lived, and he became its victim. It brought disgrace and terror and death into his family, blighted his life and finally murdered him, its creator. As he lay stiff and cold and dead there were but slight marks upon his person; but those marks were the same as had been found upon the other victim of the monster's malignity.

The Republican party, by its reconstruction acts, created political monsters, which, after desolating the fair South, turned upon their creator. Frankenstein's Prometheus would allow his creator to have no peace nor happiness which he had not fitted it too to enjoy. So the monster governments which the Republican party created soon dragged that party down to their own level of ignorance and fraud, violence and corruption, and when, at last, like Frankenstein, it resolved to control them, that party, too, is found fatally injured, bearing the marks put upon it by those who were alike its creatures and its destroyers.

Had the Democratic party stood firmly by its resolve of 1868, and continued to deny the validity of the reconstruction measures—had it thus, in a measure, returned to the principles of its first faith, and, carrying the country with it, had it overthrown the wretched governments set up and sustained by the military power of the United States—had it thus restored the Southern States to their former Constitutions, then indeed, again we say, would we have been bound to render it a lasting and unwavering support. But the Democratic party did not do this. It aban-

doned the South to its fate, and sacrificed it to the passions and fanaticism of the hour. Through ten long weary years we of the South have struggled with the vile governments which the Democratic party in 1872 recognized as legitimate and lawful. By our own wisdom, patience, fortitude and energy we have at last thrown off the yoke placed upon our necks by the Republican party, and nailed there by the Democrats. Worn and weary with the strife it has required, despoiled and plundered, we find ourselves involved in enormous debts contracted for us by the robbers whom the Democratic party recognized as our legitimate rulers. These debts we will have to pay as the consequence of that recognition.

It has long been the settled doctrine of the Courts of the United States that whether the political body which had possession of the Government was or was not the State is a political not a judicial question, and that the Courts would follow the political decision upon the subject. As long, therefore, as one of the great National political parties denied the lawfulness of the Reconstruction measures, the State Governments; the lawfulness of which was thus questioned, were restricted in their credit in the money markets, and we were thus protected from the effects of their fraudulent extravagance. But as soon as the Democratic party at Baltimore adopted as its own the Cincinnati Republican platform, which acknowledged the rightfulness of those governments, all political parties thus abandoning the question, we were bound by the obligations which, as the legitimate Governments of the State, they had the legal right to incur for whatever infamous purposes.

E. McC. Jr.

NO. IV.

When Congress met in December, 1876, two courses were open to the Democratic party—(1) to maintain Mr. Tilden's election at every hazard, and to seat him at every cost, or (2) to submit the case to arbitration. Believing as we then did that Mr. Hayes's government would be but a continuation of the rule of Morton and Chandler, and goaded to desperation, the Democratic party might have been assured of Southern support had they adopted the first course; but when they submitted to the second, wisely or unwisely, they left the Southern members in a position in which they were obliged to take care of themselves. If, on the one hand, Wall street could not risk a disputed succession, on the other the South could not afford to leave her destiny to the uncertain award of an electoral commission. What was a matter of politics and policy and places to the Northern Democrat, was a matter of life and death to the Southern.

The Southern Democrats had struggled as for their lives for the National candidates,

without assistance and with little encouragement from the party at large. They so struggled because though they were but indifferently treated by their Northern brethren, if there was any remnant of faith in the Democratic party it was opposition to Federal interference with State affairs. But when the Commission, contrary to the calculation of the Northern Democrats, declared for Mr. Hayes, the Southern leaders saw that the time for resistance had passed, and they resolutely refused to allow the country to be thrown into civil strife. By wise and statesmanlike conduct they prevented another convulsion of the country, which, however it may have terminated, would have been ruin to the South.

To the earnest Southern citizen there is now little to attract or bind him to either National party. The Northern Democrats deserted him, and claims credit to-day for having turned upon him in the hour of his need. The Republican name is associated with animosities in the past and disgrace and infamy in the present.

The Democratic party has from time to time given up one thing and then another, until there now remains but little that is distinctive in its creed. It favors home rule as a policy, but it has abandoned the right to maintain it as a principle. It opposes the expenditure of the revenue in internal improvements, but until the South, by its own strength, threw off the "carpet-bag" governments, it permitted them to be maintained by the army at the expense of the nation—thus returning to us our taxes in the form of garrisons, rather than railroads and canals. It is for free trade, but New England has always found it sufficiently accommodating to protect *her* manufactures. On the other hand, the principles of the Republican party expended itself in Mr. Stevens's "Reconstruction" measures, and upon the adoption of the late amendments to the Constitution its legitimate business was accomplished.

That there is now really no living question at issue between the Democratic and Republican parties was shown by the action of the Democratic Convention in 1872 in adopting the Cincinnati Republican platform, and again before the Electoral Commission. Just as the Tories in England in 1778 forgot the Divine right of Kings in their desire to control the government during the incapacity of George III, while the Whigs to seat the Prince of Wales denied the right of Parliament to interfere with the succession; so with us, the Republican counsel before that commission rested Mr. Hayes's case upon extreme States' Rights doctrine, while the Democrats as "liberally" relied upon the overruling power of the General Government. Only a sentiment now divides the people into those old parties—the sentiment of old animosities and of implacable hate. But this is softening. Even hate, like sorrow, will in time assuage itself.

We must not be understood to assert, still less to believe, that the great difference in

opinions as to the limits of government *i. e.*, the difference between a strong concentrated government and one of restricted powers, no longer exists. That difference is the necessary balance which gives to the great Anglo-Saxon forms of government stability on the one hand and secures liberty on the other. It has been the dividing line between all political parties, under whatever names, both in England and in this country. In England they have been called "Cavaliers" and "Round-heads," "Whigs" and "Tories." With us those who desired a strong government have arrayed themselves under the successive names of "Federalists," "Whigs" and "Republicans;" while those who preferred to restrict its powers have from time to time been styled "Republicans," "Nationals," "Democrats." But in the history of parties, as for instance in England upon the settlement of the House of Hanover upon the Throne, and with us upon the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and the recognition of all parties of the Reconstruction Governments, it happens that the two parties, whether by reason or by force, come so close together as to require new issues to separate them again and to define the dividing line between them. For many years the North had a policy to enforce, and needed a strong government to aid it. The South had a policy to protect, and was for restricting the powers of the General Government. The policy of the North prevailed, and the North no longer desires a strong government; the South no longer fears it.

New issues will doubtless arise again to divide the people of the United States upon this subject; but upon such separation and reorganization the personnel of parties will be much changed. For the present no living question divides the people into the old National parties—Republicans and Democrats.

What defines and divides the parties in this State?
E. McC., Jr.

No. V.

We closed our last number with the inquiry, What defines and divides the parties in this State? Can any one be found, from the mountains to the seaboard, to point out the difference in principle as enunciated in their respective platforms? The Republican party is noisy in its pledges for reform and honest government, and the Democrats are earnest in their promises for equal rights to all. Neither party builds a hobby so high but that the other instantly mounts it. If any Democrat can be found bold enough to attempt to define his political creed as contradistinguished from that of the Republican party in this State—if an officeholder, we will prove him a sworn Republican—if not an officeholder, the supporter and upholder of those who have sworn allegiance to the principles of that party.

What was the pivotal point of difference

between the Democrats and those who, under the various names of Federalists, Whigs and Republicans, have warred upon them? Was it not the sovereignty of the State? Was it not that the allegiance of the people was due to the States, even against the United States? Did we not fight four years for this doctrine? But read the oath which the members of the General Assembly and all officers, from Governor Hampton down, were compelled by the present Constitution to take before they entered upon the execution of the duties of their respective offices, and you will find that each and every one of them swore "*That I recognize the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States over the Constitution and laws of any State.*" Is it not absurd for any one who has taken this oath to call himself "*a Straightout Democrat?*"

But if there is no difference in political principle between the two parties in this State, what divides them? How is it that we constantly hear of the Democratic party and the Republican party? Unfortunately there has been a marked difference of another kind. The difference of race and color. We believe it to be a great misfortune to both races that they are placed with equal rights and unlimited suffrage in the same territory. But neither the white man nor the negro of this State is responsible for this. Partisan purposes of others have brought it about, but both races are equally concerned to make the best of it. If, then, the fact is that the white man and the negro are to dwell together here with equal rights before the law, the most earnest effort of the statesman should be to prevent the different races from espousing, *as races*, different and opposing political parties. If all the white men are to be counted Democrats, and all the negroes Republicans, let us do away with the ballot box, and be governed by the census.

Such a division is full of the greatest evils. Prominent among those is the inevitable result of stifling all discussion as to public measures in either party. Draw the party line by races and all must follow, whoever first chances to mount and rushes to the front. It is this race division which renders necessary the caucus, with the evils of which we commenced these articles.

When the right of suffrage was given to the negroes, in 1868, by Mr. Stevens's Reconstruction acts, *we know*, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, that we could not, if we would, have controlled their votes, and it is due to candor to say we would not if we could. We did not admit the right. The Democratic party throughout the country denied it; and as long as there was a possibility of averting the calamity of its enforcement we properly resisted it.

No one more earnestly opposed the recognition of its rightfulness than did the author of these articles; nor have we now any word that we then wrote or said to retract. Experience has fulfilled all our fears. And were the question now as open a one as it was in

1870 we should now as earnestly resist the recognition of that right as we did then. But the Democrats at Baltimore in 1872 put an end to our struggle when they adopted a Republican platform and recognized the legitimacy of the Reconstruction governments. The question is not now as to the legality of the negro vote—that is settled. The question is, What must be done with it? We are remitted to our condition of 1868, with this great difference, we have now rescued the State from the dominion of the adventurers and thieves who had the absolute mastery of the negro, and we may now fairly and honorably deal with the colored man and his vote.

That vote, without our consent, is now an important factor in our politics. The revolution of 1876 has disorganized it, and it is now without discipline or leaders. But it is still there, and will be used by us, *or by others*. If the honesty and intelligence of the State will not endeavor to influence it, it will inevitably fall into the hands of other adventurers and plunderers. But how influence it if we start out with the avowal that no man who receives its support shall be allowed admittance into the white man's party?

The Reconstruction measures were not passed for the good of the country, still less of the negro. They were enacted to perpetuate the Republican party, and when the Democrats at Baltimore in 1872 recognized those governments as legitimate it fastened upon the Southern white men this condition: *that they should return to power only through the door of the Republican party*. We have accepted the condition. We have taken the prescribed oath of allegiance to that party. We have bowed our heads and have crawled through—with us—that low and dirty portal. But having done so, and having *thus* regained our liberty and our power, are we to sing praises to either party? And if so, to which?

In another and last number we shall recur to the resolution which suggested these communications, and will show that the caucus which adopted it undertook thereby to lay down a rule for others which it had positively and distinctly refused to be governed by itself.
E. McC., Jr.

Once more, Mr. Editor, we ask space in your columns and this time to conclude our observations upon the subject of the political parties in the State and their relation to each other. We will do this by showing, as we promised in our last, that the caucus which resolved that no Democrat having the interests of the State at heart should unite with Republicans on an independent ticket, prescribed a rule of conduct for others which they declined to be governed by themselves.

To do this we need not go back to the election last spring of Chief Justice Willard, an avowed and consistent Republican, by this same Democratic caucus. Its action this winter has been much more pronounced and decided.

It will be recollected that before the election of the Circuit Judges last February this very question was much discussed. It was claimed that Judge Cook and Judge Mackey had been very active in their assistance in the election of Governor Hampton in the fall of '76, and had rendered the Democratic party great service thereby, and that they consequently should be re-elected by the Democratic members of the Legislature. On the other hand it was urged that neither of these gentlemen had been known in our courts before his elevation to the bench by the Republican party; that both had been elected at the midnight Radical caucus, which in 1875 endeavored to seat at the same time Moses and Whipper, and that in fact neither was fitted for the position. That on the other hand there were many lawyers in the Democratic party who would adorn the bench equally by their learning and their character. The contention on the subject ran high, and caused much excitement and feeling.

The question was brought to issue by Senator Lipsecomb who, we learn from the Columbia Register of 16th February, moved these resolutions:

"Resolved, 1. That in the election for Circuit Judges we will only support by our votes recognized and unquestionable members of the Democratic party recommended by unblemished character and eminent learning in the profession.

"Resolved, 2. That if any other candidate, or candidates, shall be put in nomination for such offices by this caucus the individuals, members thereof, shall not be bound to vote for them in the General Assembly, but shall be at liberty to cast their votes according to their own discretion."

The Register adds: "Those resolutions were indefinitely postponed, and Senator Lipsecomb retired from the caucus." As is well known Judge Mackey was re-elected.

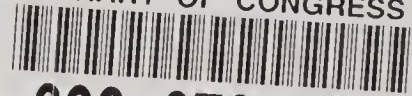
With the propriety or impropriety of Judge Mackey's election we are not now concerned, but is it not a little singular that the body which in February refused to pledge itself "to support by its votes *recognized and unquestionable members of the Democratic party*, recommended by unblemished character and eminent learn-

ing in their profession," and instead elected a Republican, one who had been for years the bitterest foe to the Democratic party in the State, should in March volunteer to advise the Democratic caucus of the next Legislature to refuse admittance to any Democrat who should happen to be elected on a ticket with Republicans? How came this caucus, holding the views of its last resolution, to elect a Republican on a Democratic ticket? If this caucus could for any purposes afford to elect a Republican on a Democratic ticket, may not some county convention for like or other purposes afford to authorize Democratic nominations on a Republican ticket?

Governor Hampton has just told us that if when our convention meets it will place the people of the State squarely on the platform adopted in 1876—the platform which declares there shall be equal laws for all the people of South Carolina, equal justice and equal rights; that if we will plant ourselves once more on that platform; if we will nominate a *Conservative* ticket, that the Republicans will not oppose us, that we will find that for the first time in years they are willing to let the State ticket go in without opposition. But what was the platform of 1876? Was not that platform purposely made so broad that every honest man, white or black, could find room to stand upon it? Did we not go among the negroes and reason with them, and show them that there was no difference as to principle between the two parties; that all we wanted was intelligence and honesty in office?

We believe that Governor Hampton can and will be re-elected by an overwhelming majority of whites and blacks. Will he be excluded from our councils because he is voted for by Republicans and negroes? And if so, will Judge Mackey be admitted in his place?

Everybody in the State understands that this is settled, viz: *That the honest white people of this State will never again submit to the rule we overthrew in 1876; that we will not again allow anything but honesty and intelligence to rule over us.* But the adoption of this last resolution was, to say the least of it, inconsistent, premature and unwarranted. How we are to deal with the immense negro vote in this State is a question of great difficulty and delicacy—one with which the Democratic Conventions have hitherto dealt with great care, wisely refusing to prescribe a rule which in its practical working in particular instances might prove ruinous to the best interest of the State at large. The resolution was a mischievous assumption which we trust our "Democratic" Convention will not heed, but will allow each county to deal with this matter as the necessities of each particular community may require. The policy that may be wise in one portion of the State may be impracticable and dangerous in another.



In conclusion, Mr. Editor, let us not be understood as advising an abandonment of our alliance with those who, for want of another name, still style themselves the "National Democratic party." For if all this is true—if the old parties have fought their battles, and if the issues between them are really decided, it does not follow that a new party can be conjured into existence—can be manufactured to order. Parties, if not begotten of passion, are of slow growth. For the present at least, while we owe it nothing, it suits our purposes best to support that party which yet calls itself "Democratic." But in doing so let us recollect that we owe our redemption not to that party, but to the prophets which God has raised up to us from our own soil. We were left, let us remember, to our own resources, to grapple with the hideous governments which were placed over us. We

were left to our own courage and fortitude to overcome domestic discord and strife. We were left to our own wisdom and patience to find and follow the way to a peaceful solution in our difficult and dangerous entanglement. We have proved that the giant is really under the mountain, and he has moved it. This giant was that predicted by Mr. Adams in 1868—our own "patient and enduring persistence in well-doing in the face of discouragement." Let us recollect that our redemption has been our own work, and not the work of the Democratic party; and let us rather follow the lead of him under whose guidance God has thus far prospered us, than the dictation of a "caucus" which would in anticipation of the coming campaign repel the vote that Governor Hampton has with such true statesmanship won over to the support of our own people and of our own interest.

E. McC., JR.

